1:Campbell E-5 (1954-1955)1964
EH14 Sarakatsani EH14
Zagori
Greece EH1

precipices and tend to 'lean over' towards the west. Thus, in general, the western slopes of the Pindus, as in parts of Zagori, present an extremely difficult terrain over which movement is not easy. Many of the valleys are narrow and steep-sided and the two principal rivers Aóös and Vikos lie in deep and formidable ravines. The canyon of Vikos is a remarkable natural feature 4,000 ft. in depth.

The most important sheep grazing area of the Zagori is the Gamila feature whose highest peak is 8,140 ft. above sea level. On the higher slopes of this mountain the important sheep villages of Papingo, Tsepelevo, Kapesovo, Vradeto, and Skamneli, to mention only the villages on its western flank, graze 33,000 sheep and goats. The rocks of this mountain, as of the other high peaks in Zagori, are of limestone formation; but the smaller features and the valleys are mostly rocks of sandstone. At the contact lines between the permeable limestone and the sandstone there are often springs and streams fed by the melting snows and the abundant rain, for this is the wettest area of Greece with, in places, an annual rainfall of 50 inches. The limestone slopes produce a sparse but fine grass which the shepherds claim is the best grazing for the milking or pregnant ewe. On some of the lower slopes in the eastern Zagori, especially those which face eastwards, there are considerable forests of silver fir and Corsican pine and a grass which is more luxuriant. The shepherds, however, prefer the thin grasses of the open limestone slopes, and comparative figures of milk yields appear to support this preference.

The more important grazing villages of the Zagori are situated 3,000–4,000 ft. above sea level and the pastures are generally found above the village to an altitude sometimes as high as 6,000 ft. Snow falls on the higher pastures as early as the first days in November and the villages themselves are often deep in snow from Christmas until the middle of March. These are the physical and climatic conditions which lead to the transhumant economy—abundant and, generally, well watered summer grasslands with maximum day temperatures which seldom exceed 80°F. in the village, or 70°F. on the higher pastures, but snow and bitter cold which force the shepherds to take their animals to the plains in winter. In the higher villages of Zagori a few sheep and goats are kept under cover during the

1:Campbell E-5 (1954-1955)1964
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Zagori

The support of kinsmen for the bride or groom is expressed more specifically in particular points of marriage custom. One of the more important ceremonies is 'The sewing of the wedding standard' (τὸ ράψιμο τοῦ φλάμπουρου), which takes place on the Saturday evening after the guests have arrived. For this standard, which flies from the hut of the groom until the marriage has been consummated, is more than a sign that nuptial celebrations are in progress; it is a symbol of marriage itself, the joining of noble youth with virgin maid.[1] In standing with him at this ceremony the company of kinsmen witness their certain knowledge of the bridegroom's nobility and their belief in the bride's virginity. Only the joining of these qualities in a marriage celebrated before God makes possible parenthood with honour. 'Whose is the wedding standard, noble and red? It is the standard of the bridegroom . . .' (Τίνος εἶν'τὸ φλάμπουρο, τ'ἄξιο καὶ τὸ κόκκινο, τοῦ γαμπροῦ εἶν'τὸ φλάμπουρο . . .), they sing. A standard requires a standard-bearer (φλαμπουράρης), and for this coveted position a youth between the ages of sixteen and twenty is chosen. He must not have had experience of sexual intercourse and both his mother and father must be alive. He is almost always a young first cousin or nephew of the groom. On the Saturday night the flag, which nowadays is the national flag of Greece, is sewn by the youth to a pole some six or seven feet in length, at the top of which a small wooden cross is secured. As the boy sews the flag the whole company of kinsmen stand around him in a circle and sing the appropriate wedding song. When the sewing is completed, the boy impales pomegranates or apples, symbols of fertility, on the three points of the small wooden cross and, finally, ties to the flag-pole below the cross a handkerchief and two strands of wool, one coloured red for virility, the other white for purity. The guests now form a dance-ring, the band strikes up, and the standard-bearer leads the dance holding aloft in his right hand the newly sewn standard. He then sets up the flag in the thatch of the groom's hut at the right-hand side of the doorway where it remains until the next morning, when the standard-bearer, mounted on a fine horse, lifts it down from the roof and leads the groom's bridal procession on its journey to the home of the bride.

The groom and his family rely on the support of their kindred

[1] At the weddings of widows or widowers no flag is flown.

had pocketed our tickets, we watched him work his perilous way along the duckboard of the corridorless train like a cat burglar. A large open cattle car was hitched to the rear of the train. A sound of raucous singing was carried along the line, and a blue flag whirled overhead on a long pole. The conductor, settling in our carriage for a chat on his return journey, confirmed what we had surmised. "Yes, it's a Sarakatsán bridegroom on his way to a wedding up at Sikarayia. They've been drinking for days." When we pulled up at the next wayside halt, the whole party leaped, shouting and singing, to the platform, the banner aswirl, and bore down on a small group waiting under an acacia tree. The white-clad groom and his cronies returned a few moments later, carrying the bride, who was attired in a stiff black and white costume of angular and Aztec strangeness, by her elbows. She sailed along the platform with the passivity of a sacred image being transported from shrine to shrine. As the shaft of the standard-bearer's banner careered past, I saw that it was topped by a pomegranate, and the same fertility symbol was affixed to the top and the two arms of a beribboned wooden cross. When they were all aboard, the groom's party fired their guns into the sky, and singing and intermittent firing accompanied the rest of the journey.

"*Paraxenoi anthropoi*," vouchsafed the conductor, after clicking his tongue censoriously a dozen times. "Odd people —" They did seem a contrast to the lofty Victorian stateliness of our carriage. He told us that the groom was the son of a great *tsellingas* — the head of a clan, as it were, of Sarakatsán shepherds — in fact, an *architsellingas*, called Kosta Zogas, who wintered at Sikarayia and pastured his sheep in the Rhodope Mountains in summer, not far from the flocks of the bride's father, another *architsellingas*, called Vrysas, who wintered near Souphlí, along the banks of the Hebrus. "You'd think," he went on, "when you see them in their rush hovels and their old capes, that they were poor. Not a bit of it! They've got pots of money. Literally pots. They fill up pitchers with gold sovereigns, and bury them — no one knows how many — whole fortunes in the ground."

Sikarayia turned out to be a village of beautifully thatched Sarakatsán huts. Giant beehives swelled and tapered in tiers of cropped reed which overlapped with the precision of the plating on armadilloes' backs, and all of them were topped by wooden crosses near holes in the thatch through which thin blue smoke curled. Black-clad Sara-

/22 cont./

361 become flooded. The entrance of the huts faces south to protect them
221 as much as possible from the north wind. The sheepfolds are built
233 on gentle slopes in order to facilitate the discharge of water and liquid manure. However, while the sheepfolds are always situated close to the pasturage, the pens of the goats are placed as far away as possible, on some rocky point where tough shrubs grow.

361 It is thus, as we see, the configuration of the ground that
233 determines the construction of the camp, always accomodating the needs of people and animals.

361 The summer camp is clearly divided into two parts: the place
221 occupied by the huts, constructed according to the rules given above,
233 and the place occupied by the flocks. But the latter place does not have sheepfolds. Actually, during the summer, the shelters built for
[417] the animals are very rudimentary. Thanks to the mildness of the
[824] climate, the shepherds simply confine the livestock in enclosures made by placing prickly shrubs upon one another and they do so during the night only, so that the animals will not disperse. The surveillance
[231] and safety of the livestock is always ensured by the shepherds themselves and by their dogs.

Neither in the winter camp nor in the summer camp does one see any building for the benefit of the group as a whole; there is no place of public assembly (even in the open), no path, no fountain--a feature /absence?/ altogether characteristic of their life.

361 /23/ On the other hand, a close observation of the aggregate of huts shows very distinct small groups, as well as relatively isolated huts. The center of the aggregate, or one of the commanding spots is occupied by a solid hut, large and carefully finished. The
[621] method of social and familial organization of the Sarakatsani, which
[474] consists of the Tseligato and its chief, the extended family and the
[612] conjugal family, (16)

16. See below, second part.

here also leaves its peculiar mark.

/25 cont./

121 objects. However, one may likewise see it as a process permitting first acquisition, then the consumption, the enjoyment and the use of that which is acquired.

In the first instance, we deal with technology technique in the strict sense, in other words, with industry and construction. In the second instance, we encounter it through man, insofar as he is the beneficiary. (2)

[113] 2. André Leroi-Gourhan: in his work cited and in another: L'homme et la matière, presents these two points of view in a manner that cannot be equalled.

/26/ The combination of these two points of view is not impossible, especially as industry and construction constitute a mode of acquisition. We should say that it is even indispensable, if we wish to avoid the risk of changing this anthropological study into a purely technological essay from which man would be absent.

128 Thus, this chapter will be set forth accordingly. Under a first heading we shall present the Sarakatsani techniques of acquisition. Under a second, those of consumption and utilization. And we shall close with some general observations on the technology of these herders.

121 Obviouly, in speaking of technological activity we immediately
128 raise problems of work and of the economy. Since the study of these questions is only possible in close connection with the study of social and economic organization, we shall speak of them in due time.

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The Technology of Acquisition

In this domain there are five ways open to the Sarakatsani gathering, manufacture, building, herding, trade. Since the last forms part of their economic system, the first four will be examined here.

222 GATHERING

313 The applicability and importance of this manner of acquisition
824 is limited. The economic goods that the Saracatsan derive directly
312 from nature are:

/26 cont./

222 313 824 312 Wood, insofar as it is the chief material for industry and building; insofar as it is the only fuel for cooking and heating.

Edible plants used for food. It is necessary to add to these the medicinal plants, the basis of traditional therapy.

Grass of the pastures, necessary for the flocks.

Finally, water.

128 /27/ For reasons of synthesis, the details of this process (selection of species, persons charged with this task, etc.) will be examined farther on.

Sarakatsani Crafts

121 The concrete form in which the problem of industries presents itself for the Sarakatsani has of three aspects: raw materials, power sources used, tools.

230 824 The principal raw materials are: wood, wool and skins, hence fibrous and pliant substances of vegetable or animal origin. (3)

3. For our terminology see: A. Leroi-Gourhan, L'homme et la matière, pp. 178, 234 and 235.

325 323 285 One might conclude from the foregoing that the Sarakatsani are ignorant of metals, pottery and basketry. This conclusion is valid only in the last two instances.

323 As a matter of fact, the nomadic life does not permit the maintenance of terra cotta utensils, the fragility of which would be put to a severe test during the travels. Moreover, their manufacture would require more of less stable installations (special ovens, sometimes pottery wheels, sets of tools, etc.), specialized and sedentary personnel who could occupy themselves continually with this, finally a relatively high level of technical knowledge (knowledge of various qualities of clay, of the peculiar properties of heat, etc.). Nothing seems less compatible with Sarakatsani life than such an industry. Furthermore, a certain volume of production would be required to make it profitable, and that, in turn, would require the establishment of means of transportation and considerable commercial relations with the outside. Let us say further that nothing would be less justified than to see

323 /27 cont./ among our herders the developmental technique so foreign to their major occupations.

285 On the other hand, we are not in a position to formulate analogous hypotheses to explain the non-existence of basket-making in this society.

325 [439] As far as metals are concerned, the Sarakatsani use metal objects which they do not produce themselves, but which they buy in trade. We shall speak of these in connection with their use and acquisition. However, the Sarakatsani make metal blades for themselves and from these they make small cutting tools for woodwork.

324 237 [386] /28/ The Sarakatsani likewise use another category of raw materials; these are substances used for their chemical properties: coloring, cleansing or causing fermentation; or even substances of vegetables or animal origin (plants, residues from the working of [381] wool, etc.), serving as agglutinins for dyes. However, glues for joining wood are unknown, and they use plant cords (wicker, rushes, etc.).

37 Power used is limited to fire, running water and the muscular strength of men and animals (this last only for transport).

322 The necessary equipment includes instruments, tools and sometimes very simple machines; they are made almost exclusively of wood, generally by the Sarakatsani themselves.

[128] The description of this equipment, as well as that of the procedures followed for its utilization will be presented always for the sake of systematization, in connection with each type of Sarakatsani industry.

***

Wood Craft

The purpose of Sarakatsani woodcraft is chiefly to make objects a) for their personal use (furniture, utensils, etc.), and b) for use in other craft industries (tools and equipment).

412 Before examining these products we must see what kind of tools and wood are used for their manufacture.

Let us first look at the tools-these are: hatchet, adze, knives.

/28 cont./
412 These objects are obtained in trade with surrounding society and need
[439] not particularly engage our attention. However, there remain the
[325] metal cutting tools (small knives, scissors, gouges, borers) for more delicate work (fig. 1 gives us an idea of these), which our herders themselves make by means of a file, starting with an old razor blade.

322 The manipulation of the tools in question is carried out by
412 striking either stationary or by a thrusting motion /lancée?/ depending on the kind of tool and its use in concrete pieces of work (the making of cups or the ornamentation of a distaff, for example). It is necessary to emphasize that among the /29/ Sarakatsani there is no device for producing a rotary movement with borers. The perforation is made by hand, and it is the latter which, should the occasion arise, turns the borer (with an alternating movement).

322 For other purposes, the wood used comes from all kinds of species:
824 (4) wild olive, alder, oak, wild pear, dogwood, chestnut, plane tree, pine, walnut, cypress, willow, elm, beech, plum, cedar, fir, boxwood,

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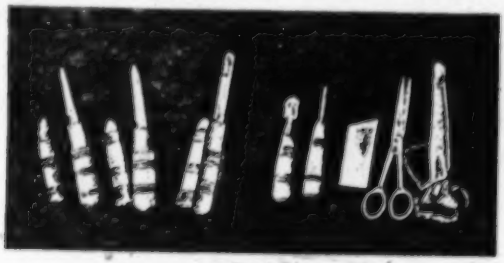

Fig. 1

322 heather, wicker, osier, etc., making up a very broad range. All these
[824] woods must be dry. Moreover, some require preparation before they can be worked. This is particularly true of boxwood, the usable part of which is the root. In order to make the latter at once stronger and

/31 cont./

352 Small stools: This type of furniture has made its appearance recently among the Sarakatsani, in imitation of peasant furniture. In any case it is a very simple stool (fig. 5).

Fig. 5

[316] The generally accepted custom is that everybody squats or stretches out on the ground in front of the hearth on covers spread directly on the ground of the hut. Beds are unknown.

[342] In other respects the interior of the hut itself solves the problem of the indispensible /32/ furniture to hold objects. The walls, in fact, provide a kind of bench or shelf. (6)

6. See below, the section devoted to the dwelling, pp. 90-92.

415 [128] Since furniture is limited to these few objects, we shall go onto examine the utensils made by the Sarakatsani, which we shall categorize according to their use.

Utensils used in making bread

[322] [824] The kneading trough, a type of large receptacle carved out of a heavy piece of solid wood (trunk of holly) in which bread is kneaded (fig. 6).

The pinakotti: this is a very thick board that has six to eight

412 /36/
415 /36/ All these utensils are made out of hard woods (plum, dogwood,
824 oak, boxwood, /assuming that "bois" in French text is misprint for "buis"/ briar root, etc.).

Other household utensils

415 These include, first of all, a special receptacle for water and wine, with a capacity of about five liters, which is called voutséli. It is a small cask of wood with a side opening (figs. 11 and 12).

The vedhoura is a tiny tub with a handle, which is used for the preparation of yogurt (fig. 13).

[432] In order to transport and store wine and water the Sarakatsani
[798] use casks bought commercially. And this is an innovation, since formerly they made the casks themselves (fig. 14).

412 Finally, there is the xethali, a piece of hard wood bent at an
415 obtuse angle, which serves as a poker (fig. 15); the plystroskafidho,
296 a kind of basin carved out of a big tree trunk used for laundry (fig. 16); and the big paddles used to wash and rinse linen and wool in the brooks (fig. 17).

Pastoral equipment

415 This consists of objects used chiefly in work with the animals, namely:

415 Milking pails: formerly carved out of a tree trunk, they now
234 have the shape of a tub formed with staves; they are either made on the spot or bought commercially. They are round receptacles with a capacity of 12 liters into which the animals are milked (figs. 18 and 19).

Large and small tubs: the Sarakatsani have various kinds of small tubs:

First, the small tubs in which they keep milk until it starts to curdle. It is with slightly sour milk that they make butter.

The churn in which milk is vertically beaten in order to produce
[824] butter is also a small tub. It is 1.20 meters high and flared in shape (it measures about 40 centimeters in diameter at the base and 60 centimeters at the top); it includes plunger made /37/ of a large branch

/37 cont./
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of fir tree which, at one end, has four of its stems in the form of a cross. The extremities of this cross are connected by a stalk held firmly in place with cord from plants. The end of the plunger thus looks like a wheel set perpendicularly on its axis (figs. 20 and 21).

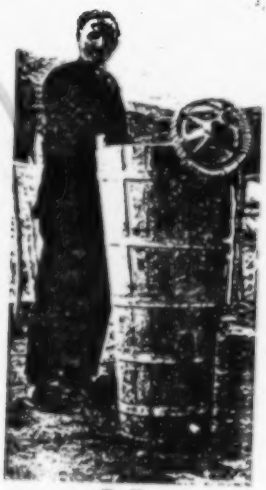

Fig. 20

Fig. 21

415 /38/
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251 /38/ A cask large enough to permit the storage of up to 100 kilograms of cheese, and finally, a tub in which butter is kept (fig.22).

415 The staves of these large and small tubs, and the buckets are
824 very often adjusted and held in place by means of hoops formed from flexible branches of fir from which the needles have previously been
[111] removed. However, this technique is of recent introduction among the
[322] Sarakatsani. Formerly, they /the tubs/ were carved out of solid wood.

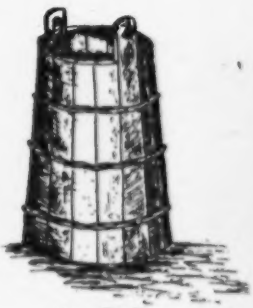

Fig. 22

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Fig. 23

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283 Equipment related to weaving and wool

This equipment includes:

The distaff: there are two kinds of distaffs found among the Sarakatsani.

[524] The first is merely a tree branch 60 centimeters long which ends in a three-pronged fork onto which the tuft of wool is fastened (fig. 23).

/39/ The second is made up of two parts: first, a branch of the same length as that we have described makes up the vertical part of the distaff; a small, board fastened perpendicularly to the preceding part forms a cross ready to receive the tuft (fig. 24 and 25).

[531]

Fig. 24

Fig. 25

/57 cont./

to wool crafts it is necessary also to describe the special process used by the Sarakatsani to dye a dark blue, the fabrics used for making men's garments (vests, jackets, trousers) and women's skirts.

The fabric to be dyed is immersed in boiling water in a cauldron

Fig. 42

reserved for this use. A good quantity of Parella [a type of lichen] gathered in the countryside is added to this water. The boiling continues until the water turns a yellow color. Then this water is discarded and replaced with the sera or seria, that is to say, the water which was already used in boiling the wool and which has been saved, as we noted above. Indigo (and, recently, the dye bought commercially) is added, the water is reheated, and then the fabric is allowed to soak in the liquid for five days while it is kept at a constant temperature controlled according to whether the hand /58/ is able to bear the heat of the solution. From time to time, the fabric is removed in order to be beaten with a paddle, then it is reimmersed. This process increases the strength of the fabric, as well as that of the color itself, the sera acting as agglutinant.

/58 cont./

The use of hides.

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This craft is limited to the fabrication of goat skin bottles (fig. 43).

The treatment of the skins consists first of removing their wool, which is crudely cut with scissors, then drying them. For

Fig. 43

drying, the skins are turned so that the wool surface is on the inside; then a flexible, curved stalk is inserted in order to keep the skin well stretched.

When the skins are dry, one ties the opening of the feet carefully and overcasts the fore part (belly). The goatskin bottles are then [251] ready to receive liquids or cheeses for transportation or preservation; these are poured into the opening corresponding to the neck.

SARAKATSANI BUILDINGS.

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824

All the Sarakatsani buildings used for dwellings or for animal shelters are made of wood.

Small trunks, branches, twigs, and leaves of trees (plane trees, oaks, beeches, firs, poplars, willows, pines, bushes with or without thorns, finally aquatic plants such as rushes or reeds) are extensively used.

The choice of these plant species is related on the one hand, to the possibilities offered by the flora in the region where the Sarakatsani live and, on the other hand, to the type of building undertaken.

/62 cont./

342 824 The first /phase/ consists of filling in the checker work formed by the intersection of the vertical and horizontal elements of the framework by spreading on them branches, foliage, even bushes in a thin and sparse layer that is kept in place by plant cords.

The second /phase/ consists of covering this first layer with bushes (holly, etc.) or with small branches of fir, /63/ plane tree, etc., previously tied into bunches, thay are placed vertically side by side all around the hut, beginning at the ground, and only to the height of the posts. From there to the top one proceeds in similar fashion but using aquatic plants (reeds, rushes, etc.).

It should be added that these bunches of aquatic plants, meant to insure the impermeability of the hut, are spread out in circular layers arranged in such a way that the lower side of each layer slightly covers the upper side of the one placed directly below it. This arrangement, which forms very distinct areas overlapping from top to bottom, in a succession of real tiers, promotes the running-off of rain water.

342 Finally, the construction described is supported by horizontal lacings--concentric rings wound around the exterior surface of the hut--which hold in place the covering and increase the stability of the construction, especially against the wind.

It sometimes happens, especially in the case of huts used for winter living in cold regions, that a second roof is added. That is [824] to say, a hood the size of the hut, made of bunches of rushes superimposed on one another, entirely prepared beforehand on the ground, is set in place by means of forks.

In order to complete the description, it is necessary to add that in the course of the construction an opening is left to permit entrance into the hut.

A closing, in the form of a dry hedge or of boards, acts as a door; a firm post is used as an upright.

/64 cont./

342 to the forks by plant cords or ropes.
335

Finally, the top of the hut, which ultimately takes the shape of a roof with two places slanting from the ridge is built parallel to the main rafters. It is made up of a series of long branches that serve as rafters, their number determined by that of another series of long posts set vertically in the ground. Actually, one plants on each of the long sides, at intervals of 40 to 50 centimeters, a certain number of posts 1.60 meters high ending in a fork. Now, to each of these posts which reach the height of the tie-beam there corresponds a rafter to which it is lashed in the manner we have already described.

It should be said here that the ends of the rafters sharply project beyond the tie-beams to form an overhang protecting the hut from rainwater.

For the construction of the low sides of the rectangle one also uses posts planted sometimes vertically, sometimes at an angle /65/ / Figs. 48 and 49 appear here/ /66/ so that, in the latter case, they delineate an arc at the base, the span of which represents the width of the hut and the height of which (approximately 50 centimeters) inclines outward from the center fork.

342 As a consequence, the two short sides of the hut are either rectilinear of parabolic at their base; it follows that the corresponding walls are flat in the first instance and convex in the second.

Finally, the covering of this framework remains to be described.

824 Horizontal stalks are lashed to the vertical components at intervals

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 77]

/66 cont./

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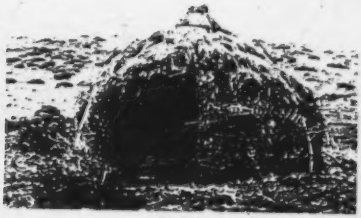

Fig. 50

342 of 30 centimeters, while on the roof long stalks are attached parallel
824 to the tie-beams. With bunches of branches and leaves, and proceeding in the manner described for the round hut, that is to say in tiers, one covers the walls and the roof. In addition, bunches of aquatic plants are spread on the latter.

It often happens that the walls themselves are finished off with a layer of these aquatic materials.

342 While the construction of the round hut provides a single opening
354 that serves as entrance, that of the rectangular hut also provides a window, sometimes even two. Depending on the size of the hut, the opening, 1.30 centimeters high by 80 centimeters wide, is situated /67/ either on the width (in the case of large huts) or on the length (in that of small ones), while the windows are situated either on the side opposite or the side continguous to that of the door.

However, in most cases what we call "windows" are only narrow openings cut into the two small sides of the hut, particularly at the point where the large center forks join the ridge pole. Usually, the

/68 cont./

342 (821) Of course, the whole /hut/ is covered with branches, leaves or bushes. Sometimes the part of the hut forming the top is covered with aquatic plants, as in the preceding cases.

As far as the use of these huts is concerned, it should be mentioned that the largest ones may be used for living quarters as well as temporary occupancy particularly for shepherds roaming far from the encampment.

343 The smaller ones serve as outbuildings of the principal dwelling, either as storerooms, sheds, or small storehouses for blankets and provisions (grain, flour, oil), or as a shelter for the loom (fig. 50, 51).

342 (354)

Fig. 52

/69/ /figs. 53 and 54 appear here/

/70/ Variations of the rectangular hut: the variant of the rectangular hut is relatively of a simpler construction than that of the large rectangular hut itself. But here it is necessary to make a distinction.

These variants built either with forks or without forks.

/82 cont./

417
233
291

Fig. 66

417
233

/83/ The shelters

Sheepfolds: These folds are actually round or oval enclosures approximately 15 meters in diameter. The method of their construction is identical with that /fig. 67 appears here/ used in the construction of hut walls in general: forks and posts are driven into the ground, leaning slightly toward the center of the circle or ellipse and interlaced at regular intervals with long stems placed horizontally; the whole is covered with intertwined branches and foliage (fig 66 and 68).

The height of the enclosure is 1.80 meters. The opening that serves as entrance is closed with a door of intertwined boughs. /84/ (fig. 67). Inside, a second row of short forks are set 70 centimeters long, approximately 1.20 meters from the side thus forming a sort of circular palisade parallel to the walls. /Fig. 68 appears here/ The upper part of these forks is joined together by long stalks arranged one after the other. After that, the top of the outside enclosure and [824] that of the inside palisade are bound together with big stalks, producing a very slanting framework which is customarily covered with boughs, leaves, bunches of shrubs or aquatic plants./Fig. 69 appears here/

/84 cont./

417
233

Fig. 69

/85/ Thus, the finished structure has the shape of a long circular corridor with a roof slanting steeply toward the interior of the enclosure. It is this corridor which constitutes the sheepfold proper. The center of the enclosure remains uncovered (fig. 69 and 70).

Finally, the floor of this fold is strewn with a litter made up of small branches that are often renewed in order to maintain relative cleanliness. /Fig. 70 appears here/

/86/ Goat pens: the pens for goats are very similar to the preceding /structure/ with respect to shape, dimensions and building methods. The only differences reside, on the one hand, in the height which very much exceeds that of the sheepfolds, the outside hedge rising to three meters from the ground, and, on the other hand, in the building materials used for covering; the fence is actually covered with thorny bushes (holly, etc.) in order to keep the goats from jumping over it.

[824]

272 /119 cont./
415 (small goatskin bottle).

273 c) Wine.

[439] d) Finally, spirits. Bought commercially, the last two are hardly ever drunk except at religious or family festivals and above all when hospitality is offered.

272 --Natural beverages: these are fresh water and milk.

--Infusions: coffee is the drink preferred by the Sarakatsani at any rate in the huts, since tea or chocolate are unknown. In addition, [824] one can enumerate a whole list of infusions made with herbs, flowers and leaves of aromatic shrubs, as for example witch hazel flowers, sage or the various medicinal plants.

272 In the way of "consumption technology" the drinking of liquids, when
273 it is collective (water, wine) requires containers with a narrow opening
415 the "voutseli" (fig. 11)[A] which are passed from hand to hand; for individual consumption, cups made in the native crafts or bought commercially are used.

Light and heat.

354 Figure 64[B] shows the solution of these two problems.

For light the Sarakatsani use an oil lamp provided with a wick, which is obtained commercially.

As for heat, the fire of the hearth is quite sufficient. According to our own experience, though it was snowing outside, within the hut it was so warm that a jacket was unbearable.

Sometimes the fire, if bundles of resinous branches are thrown on it, serves also as the only source of light.

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121 Although with this last paragraph, the description of Sarakatsani technology may be considered concluded, this is not to say that the study of "the technological expression" of this society is entirely exhausted. We ought to have gone on to a detailed and complete analysis of the succession of procedural steps that "homo faber saractsanus" /Sarakatsani man, the maker/ applies in each /120/ craft. This task

[A] /Fig. 11 appears on p.43--Analyst/
[B] /Fig. 64 appears on p.92--Analyst/

/179 cont./

He is seldom personally involved in herding, and carries a staff much shorter than that of the other shepherds, a staff /180/ which is also a sign of his rank. Moreover, he is the only one who has a saddle horse.

His dress is more elaborate than that of his men and his hut is always situated in the center of the encampment and built on the highest point.

Generally, his hut has a fretzato (circular enclosure adjoining the hut and forming a court) in which he receives visitors and where the negotiations with merchants take place.

It is he who offers hospitality, not forgetting, however, to write down the expenditures as part of the general cost of the business.

Nothing happens in the Tséligato that he is not advised of. However, his authority never gives him the right to interfere in questions concerning the private lives of the participants.

In the course of performing his functions, the Tséligas may, if he wishes, consult the other men of the Tséligato. Yet this almost never happens. There is only one situation in which he needs the opinion of the experienced shepherds; he inquires of them about the quality of the grass of different pastures meant for the various categories of livestock.

We see by this that the only case in which the opinion of the subjects of the Tséligas might be expressed is in an essentially technical, and not in an administrative matter.

This exception is very characteristic of the status and prestige of the Tséligas who must, above all, act with justice, objectivity, generosity, and prudence. Respected by all, he insures order and peace.

If one or another of the participants shows himself to be undesirable the Tséligas can turn him out before the expiration of his contract, but after the mutual obligations have been settled.

842 /254 cont./
777 Tuesday--a day considered unlucky. Marital relations likewise, are
[585] forbidden on Saturday /255/ and Sunday. (21) Children conceived on
[833] 21. It is very difficult to explain these prohibitions.
[171] According to a belief very widespread in Greece, Tuesday is an unlucky day because Constantinople fell into the hands of the Turks on a Tuesday. Yet it is certain that it was already considered unlucky before the fall of the Empire.

[171] vol. I, p. 42.--As for Saturday, it should be said that in many regions of Greece it is considered the day most favorable for magic. In others the prohibition of sexual relations is due to the fact that Saturday and Sunday are days meant for religious duties, and therefore he should refrain from unchastity.

these days are supposed to be burdened with defects. On the other hand, those who are conceived on a Monday are gifted with health and exceptional intelligence.

843 When a child is conceived, the mother-to-be must protect herself
789 against a miscarriage. To this end two methods are prescribed. The first
[824] consists of making an amulet: flowers of the willow are placed in a small bag which the woman wears. The second is more complicated: three women, all called "Mary" (the name of the Holy Virgin, mother of God) make a rope composed of three strands of wool previously fashioned by each of them. Having finished the rope, they make several knots in it and place it around the waist of the mother-to-be. (22)

22. Cited by Madame Hadjimichali: Ibid., A.I. p.

The symbolic efficacy of these methods is in the use of the willow and the rope as "bonds," (23) therefore also capable of binding together the mother

[342] 23. It will be recalled that the parts of the hut
[824] frame are tied with willow. On the magic of the "knots" see M. Eliade: Images et Symboles, p. 145.

/264 cont./

776 Sarakatsani do not give a detailed description, are only nominally fused with the Satan of Christian tradition. These are the saïtanarei; they harm men, but they do not lead them into temptation. Others, such as the kalikantzari, which we have already mentioned, rather ressemble practical jokers. Finally, the Daoutis, a dreadful spirit, attacks the flocks and exterminates them.

776 823 The saïtanarei usually frequent caverns, precipices, mountain passes, the crossings of roads and footpaths, thoroughfares, fig trees and nut trees, the places where the flocks take salt. In crossing the mountain one sometimes sees "bell holes," as they are called by the Sarakatsani, deep hollows /265/ in the bare rock in the shape of inverted bells; these resound with the cries and roars of these spirits. One must at all costs avoid passing near these holes. For the same reason, one must avoid sleeping on the [828] passes. "If you fall asleep there," the Sarakatsani say, "you will have 776 terrible nightmares." One must also beware of passing through the small 821 tornadoes of summer. The wind which rises in the form of a column of dust and dead leaves shows that a flock of demons is performing a circular [753] dance. The bold one who approaches it will most certainly be stricken with 776 headaches and vertigo. (42) Analogous dangers and even serious illnesses, 753

42. Probably because of the circular movement.

824 indeed incurable illnesses, lie in wait for the one who falls asleep under a fig tree or a walnut tree. (43)

43. Obviously because of the aromatic volatile oils (essences) which their leaves contain and which the sleeper inhales. The dangers that come from tornadoes and trees are mythically represented by the Sarakatsani.

776 [824] These trees are regarded as being inhabited by supernatural beings.

However, it is not always easy to avoid encountering these demons. [487] The passes are obligatory crossings in the mountains, and the haunted cross- [751] roads and footpaths are not avoidable. Thus, in order to protect themselves [263] against ill effects from these encounters, the Sarakatsani always carry with [783]

/267 cont./

776 233 789 head of the animals. (51)

51. In this way the dark forces are opposed, the auspicious forces being derived from the Church and from religion.

All around the sheepfolds fires that give off a fetid odor are lighted. [824] The thorny shrubs of the enclosures are supposed to forbid the existance of both Daoutis and other unnamed demons, as well as evil in general. (52)

52. Thorns and odors are the means of removal. On the removal of spirits by malodorous smoke: H. Freudenthal: Das Feuer und die Menschheit, I, p. 112 f. By the same author: Das Feuer in deutchen /sic/ /correct reading: deutschem/Glauben , cited in G. Megas: [illegible], p. 48, n. 8.

If, despite all this, the Daoutis attacks, it is advisable above all not to speak of it to anyone, so as not to attract him anew. Only some old men "who are experienced with it" are warned. Then the sheepfolds that have been attacked are moved silently during the night and in absolute secrecy. Thus Daoutis, disoriented, is thereafter incapable of finding the animals and attacking them again. But that is not all. The livestock 783 233 789 must be purified of the miasmas or rather of the moral contamination with which the Daoutis has covered it. An underground passage, a kind of tunnel, is hurriedly dug out, at the entrance of which a tortoise shell is hung. [411] The animals pass through it one by one and when the last leaves it a shot is fired with the left hand. (53)

53. G. Megas: Ibid., p. 50, says that the evil spirits are attacked by the shots. In this case the weapons are loaded with the left hand and the shooter takes aim with the left eye.

[171] [312] [823] This practice, which is also followed by other rural groups of northern Greece, combines at one and the same time the curative properties of fire, the regenerative forces of the earth (the passage through the opening

/268 cont./

776 descriptions of satyrs. Sharp claws and piercing cries are attributed to them. In order to prevent them from entering the hut, the entrance door 776 is covered with wild asparagus (the thorny shrub repulsing the evil), 789 asphodel bulbs (the flower of the dead according to Hellenic beliefs, [824] hence indicated for exorcising underground demons), (56). One may also [412] [312]

56. The bulbs symbolize life. They are dry but sprout once they are planted. Thus any threat against life in the broad sense of the term can be neutralized by them.

instead place there the xethali of the hearth (see above, p. 44, figure 15), that type of poker symbolizes the fire and therefore its purifying force. However, the kalikantzari take advantage of the slightest opportunity to enter the hut. So to protect oneself from their wicked tricks it is necessary to avoid sitting too near the hearth of leaving there an uncovered pot, and to see that all the dishes are put back--precautions which prevent these spirits from soiling men, utensils and food. It is also necessary to drive a fork into raw meat [the prongs of the fork threaten to painfully prick the "kalikantzari"). One must also avoid washing one's [515] head and combing one's hair during the days when the kalikantzari move about on the earth, in order to give them no opportunity to get into one's hair, "for the acts of men influence the spirits." If the kalikantzari 776 dirty the food it is no longer edible. A Sarakatsani told us that one day 789 during the Christmas festivities, his mother and he had roasted some pieces 262 of meat for their lunch on the embers of the hearth in their hut. This 252 meat seemed tastless to them. They first thought they had not added enough salt. In the evening they prepared some of the same meat in a pot. This time the taste was truly abominable. They then realized that they [251] had forgotten to stick a fork into the piece of raw meat /269/ hanging in its usual place in a corner of the hut; they concluded that the kalikantzari had urinated on it.

776 789 However, the radical procedure that puts an end to their sojourn among

/271 cont./

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[239]

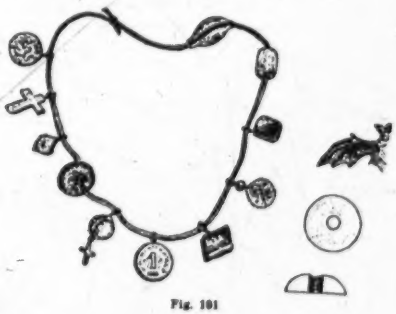

Fig. 101

/272 cont./

[239]
[824]

On another amulet we discovered, in addition to the objects enumerated above, a scapula of a tortoise and three shoots of thorny shrubs. And on another, instead of the cowrie, a crab's claw.

The symbolism of these objects is more or less known to us. Gospel, medal and cross (divine forces), salt, incense, thorny shrub and fairy weight (against supernatural beings and a means of dominating the fairies), cowrie and crab (aquatic beings, hence lunar, promoting fecundity), turtle (terrestrial force) superimposed and combined to the same end. The coin /273/ is a beneficent talisman and protector known since the late Middle Ages in Byzantium. (64) The amber ball has the same meaning, but was

64. At first, the coins struck by Alexander the Great were regarded as charms. Then, coins of Emperor Constantine the Great, which bore the cross. See B. Schmith: Der böse Blick, p. 602. --D. Loukatos: Ibid., p. 15. Even today it is customary to offer coins of Constantine in connection with some occasions of "transition" (baptism, marriage).

342 /274 cont./
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372 widespread belief. See: A. Métraux: Contribution au Folklore Andin, p. 87.--P. Deffontaines: Géographie et Religion, p. 30 (Madagascar), etc.

751 The Sarakatsani women put nettle leaves on their clothing in order
824 to protect their skin from irritation caused by clothing and perspiration, especially during the long marches of the seasonal migrations. It is a practice based on the idea that, since the irritation caused by the nettle and the sweat seem the same, the same cause is found in their origin. When one wears the cause on oneself, it will not work against one, for it is as if the cause worked against itself. (71)

71. It is the same idea that justifies the wearing of the weight from the fairies' spindle in order to protect oneself against their evil spells.

752 The Sarakatsani treat chapped hands and lips with the blood of a lamb
825 killed during the festival of Saint George, the protector of the Sarakatsani. The blood of the lamb offered as a sacrifice has curative properties. (72)

72. As we shall see in connection with religion.

755 The technique of the transfer of an evil, which we were able to observe in the protection against Daoutis, is also applied in connection with /275/ throat ailments. While pronouncing "religious words" (according to the common expression), the secret of which is, as usual, jealously guarded, the healer draws a sign of the cross on the throat and makes a gesture of transfering the evil onto the arm of the patient where a sort of vesicular pustule is formed, the treatment of which is very easy and less annoying than that of the throat.

789 The protection of the livestock against evil influences includes many
372 practices. We have spoken of the half-charred log and the head of the
825 viper which are carried into the strougha. In addition to promoting
233 fertility, they are charged with a protective role, the first as representative of the healing fire and the second owing to the inherent qualities of the snake. There are other methods which we must bring to light.

/275 cont./

233 789 824 Let us recall first that when they construct a new sheepfold the Sarakatsani place there thorny shrubs which will threaten and repulse the evil. (73)

[196] [191] 73. We have spoken of this in connection with demons and the kalikantzari. According to the Byzantine M. ΨΕΛΛΟΣ : Περί ἐνεργείας δαιμόνων, M. P. G. 122, p. 873. one can conquer the demons...by using knives and needles, for "they fear the points of iron objects." See also: A. Métraux: Les Indiens Uro-Čipaya, p. 350: "The house is often protected by a cactus..."

233 237 789 Moreover, the skull of the horse or a donkey is hung there for, the bone, extremely solid matter, transmits its resistance to the flocks and protects them further against the evil eye. (74)

[191] 74. A practice followed in many countries influenced by Greek and Latin civilizations. See P. Deffontaines: Ibid., p. 40: "In Spain, South America, North Africa one very often comes across skulls of cattle fastened to the house enclosure to shield it from the evil eye...To bring fertility to the orchard of the house, horses' skulls were used in Rome as well as North Africa." It is very probable that the Sarakatsani attributed this second significance to the skull.

233 789 823 585 The resistance of the livestock is further ensured by placing at the entrance to the stroungha a hatchet or a knife, hard objects that the animals touch as they trample over them; this practice is analogous to that which requires the newly-weds to walk on a metal object as they enter their hut for the first time.

233 789 All these practices are solely preventive. With respect to the curative aspect, and calling to mind the instance of Daoutis, we should note the measures to be taken at the time of small pox epidemic among the [184] animals. According to the findings of M. Skafidas, (75)

/278 cont./

755 be transferred to its occupants.

Here is another example:

755 The lid of a cooking pot is filled with water and transported under
788 the same conditions and it is set on the ground. One picks up with tongs a glowing coal with which one makes the sign of the cross on the edges of the lid and, while murmuring the ritual phrase (of Byzantine origin):

539 "Jesus Christ is the conqueror...
He dispels all evils..."

one lets the coal fall into the water while pronouncing the name of the one whom one suspects of having cast the evil eye on the child. If the coal remains on the surface it is certain that the person mentioned is innocent. One must then recommence the entire ritual while pronouncing the name of another suspect, then another, and so on until the coal sinks. The person responsible having been dicovered thanks to this procedure of divination, the child will immediately be rid of this baneful influence.

Another procedure consists of taking three grains of salt and three grains of incense with three fingers of the right hand used in crossing oneself (according to the Orthodox ritual) and making the sign of the cross on the child while murmuring an incantation that we do not know. After that 755 the salt and the incense are thrown on the fire and the child, its clothing and its covers are passed over it. Then the child, wrapped in the fumigated covers, is laid down and falls asleep.

The fumigations (as we shall call them from now on) constitute therapy not only against the evil eye but also against children's diseases. 755 Thus the flowers that have served as decorations for the Orthodox 824 epitaphios (worship at the tomb of the Lord) on Good Friday, saved and dried, are burned on these occasions. The same is done with the flowers of the wicker, /water willow?/ shrub to whose firmness and flexibility magic forces are attributed. We shall see farther on that the willow is

/278 cont./
755
[824] used in many other magic proceedings.

[788] /279/ Finally, one makes the sign of the cross over the affected individual while one holds some grains of salt. Then one throws the salt in the fire where it explodes. Whereupon one gathers up the fragments and puts them in water. When the salt has dissolved one sprinkles the patient [263] with this liquid. The properties of salt combined with the purification by [372] fire will act therapeutically on him. (81)

81. Several ideas are intertwined in these practices. The influence of certain materials and certain forces, combined with the word, the exorcism or incantation, as well as with the evocation of sacred personages are at the center of the action. All this is well known to us, hence it is not necessary to go back to it. Let us point out only that these methods aim at purifying the afflicted subject.

233 The protection of the livestock against the evil eye presupposes
789 mainly two things: an amulet and silence. The amulet consists of a new
[754] ball in which are put salt, incense, some pitch, some dust, etc. (materials which the women take to church on Maundy Thursday to have them blessed), (82) as well as some pieces of paper on which a country priest writes

82. See the next chapter: the ritual of Maundy Thursday.

appropriate exorcisms. (83)

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114 83. This is an old custom of pagan origin, related to oracles, etc., which St. Jean Chrysostome has severely criticized: M.P.G. 62, 358, etc. This same author gives us a brief description of these writings: Christian vows, magic phrases, names of rivers, star of David, etc. Since we have not had occasion to see the writings the Sarakatsani use, it is impossible for us to say whether they correspond to those described by Chrysostome. This custom has also been condemned

/296 cont./

121 789 792

105. If we use the term "mythology" to denote this system of beliefs it is because, as we have explained on page pp. 283-285 their original religious character has disappeared. The part of their content that has survived constitutes henceforth a mythological explanation of the world, adopted by the Sarakatsani and a justification of their magic, with which these beliefs are connected. See also p. 415 f. and pp. 421-423.

121 789 In order to solve the problems belonging to the second category the Sarakatsani has recourse to elements of the visible world.

Despite the risk of repeating ourselves, we must recall certain facts to illustrate these assertions, as well as to justify what follows:

[842] --In order to decide the sex, a boy is set on a bride's lap so that she will give birth to boys.

--In order to acquire physical, physiological or biological [829] characteristics they use elements having (or presumed to have) those same (or presumably same) characteristics. A bride walks on metal in [823] order to acquire its strength. If a man wears a thing taken from wild [825] animals it will communicate to him their resistance, their agility, [842] their adaptability, etc. To eat the meat of a sterile animal makes the [233] woman sterile. An old skull placed on the fence transmits its solidity to the livestock.

--In the third place, to acquire a state of being one again has [824] recourse to elements of the visible world and their characteristics: the seeds of the pomegranate or the grains of rice, symbolizing by their number the multitude of products, assure prosperity and wealth. The sweetness of honey with which one coats the entrance is a sure token of [231] a happy life. The bride's horse must have /297/ a light coat, for a [822] black horse calls to mind the conventional color of the devil.

--In order to induce curative or preventive effects, a simple

/351 cont./

757 in the course of three consecutive mornings at day break, stand in front of the door of the hut, his right hand as high as possible on the door jamb and his left hand as low as possible on the opposite upright. Then he must bend his trunk deeply three times. This exercise must be repeated several times in succession with the hands reversed.

757 /352/ There is another treatment of lumbago: the patient lies
759 flat on his stomach on a "bed," and the healer starts to massage him. After that he takes hold of the patient's right hand and left foot and tries to join them above his back. He repeats the manipulation
(237) with the opposite limbs. These manipulations finished, the healer applies on the painful spot a sort of poultice made from the lungs of a recently killed young goat, cut in pieces, soaked in alcohol, sprinkled with sugar and raised to the normal body temperature.

757 To heal the inflammation of ganglions in the groin, a heated
756 wooden spoon is applied and the operation is repeated several times in succession while exorcisms are pronounced.

752 In case of scorpion bites it is necessary to rub the wound with the
824 milk of the fig tree.

757 Finally, medicinal plants are used to combat fever, a cold, etc.
278 The rest of Sarakatsani therapy deals exclusively with curative
757 magic. But one finds its presence everywhere be it only in the manner
755 of administering treatment by rational means. The examples cited are evidence: the exercise against lumbago is done "at daybreak" and not during the day; the poultice is made with the lungs of kids and not of lambs; the treatment of glands involves exorcisms, etc.

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128 Having presented this date, we shall try to formulate certain ideas about Sarakatsani knowledge.